2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6



X533
126

Administration. The type of recreational songs called *rari* in the southern, and *ru'u* in the northern Marquesas islands is the only one that may be said really to survive today. Other chants are held in mind by a few of the older people with tenacious memories. It is probable that one could count on the fingers the number of natives living today who can give either words or melodies of the very sacred chants such as the *pu'e*.

123

The circumstances that led to my being able to record the melodies of the chants included in this study should perhaps be mentioned, for the story throws a good deal of light on the subtle influences that may help or hinder the ethnologist in Polynesia. They also reveal clearly that fathomless depths of "information" may lie at the bottom of the mind even of an apparently perfectly "civilized" and "missionized" native that may be tapped by the sympathetic and friendly student if he happens to touch the right spring that will throw open the doors in the natures of these people who are capable of appearing as open and accommodating as a smiling lagoon, while in fact their innermost thoughts are as tightly shut in and invisible as the pearl oyster that lies in his closed shell on the coral bottom.

Mrs. Handy and I had lived for three months at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa without hearing any native music in spite of the fact that I had repeatedly asked native friends with whom we were continually associated if they did not know how to sing some of the old songs, receiving always a negative reply. When in the fourth month we went to the island of Uahuka in pursuance of our various studies I had with me a cheap violin, procured in Tahiti entirely with a view to giving myself diversion and amusement. At Hane, on Uahuka, where our relationship with the inhabitants of the small local settlement was very friendly, I produced my violin one evening when some of the young natives were at our house and we had a modest concert for their amusement, the violin and Mrs. Handy's voice furnishing the entertainment with some songs that would be called truly ancient in our own country. Our friends, few of whom had ever seen or heard a violin, and none of whom had ever been entertained with music by foreigners, were duly enthusiastic, and concerts were thereafter a regular feature in the evenings during our stay. What was our surprise and delight one evening when the local missionary was absent in another valley, to have a small group of young native men and women, after much whispered consultation, arrange themselves on the ground outside our house and commence the Ru'u Tohu'i. Thereafter there were many evenings when we exchanged music in true Polynesian fashion; but the natives would never sing when they thought the missionary might hear it or get wind of their backsliding. Later, on the island of Uapou, where the people were less independent in spirit, I never succeeded in hearing a single song, in

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6



spite of a longer stay than in Uahuka, equally cordial relationships, evening concerts, and frequent urgings. On a few evenings we were treated to music on bamboo flutes which were brought to our house concealed under the clothing of our friends. I am certain that the people of this place knew songs and could have sung them had it not been for the intimidating spectre of missionary suppression. 123

After our return to our headquarters in Atuona, I was outspoken in my enthusiasm about the singing of Uahuka, and instituted the custom of having evening concerts, with the result that one evening a group of men and women of the valley was assembled under the leadership of Haapuane, whose pride was piqued by my admiration of the talents of our Uahuka friends, and gave us a concert that far excelled in interest those heard before. Following this, I found that Haapuane knew not only the text of a number of the chants, the words of which he had formerly given me, but also the melodies, and in addition a great deal about the ancient native system of singing. There followed the study with him of the chants, which, with the exception of the *ru'u* recorded on Uahuka, are presented in this paper.

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper.

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their native tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood.

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they become a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population.

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions.

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the appearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friendship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in altering these attitudes on the part of the informants.
/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excavations which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethnomedicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent

/28 cont./ 804

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious of each others endowments, often conducting comparative sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bathing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)
b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)
c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

/62 cont./ The 586 197 797
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123] ●

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]●
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as